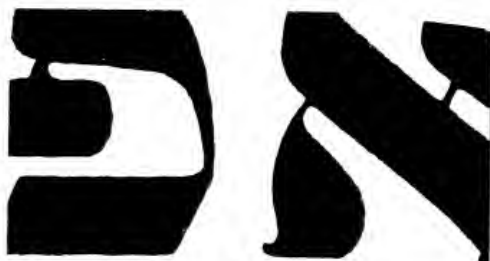


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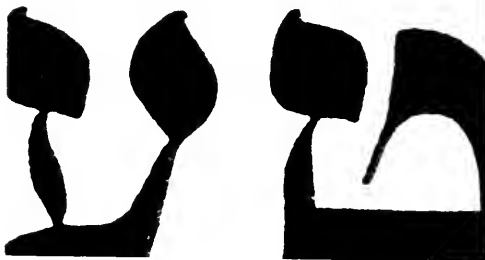
MALTER

PERSONIFICATION OF
SOUL AND BODY



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PERSONIFICATIONS OF SOUL AND BODY

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PERSONIFICATIONS OF SOUL AND BODY

A STUDY IN JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE¹

BY HENRY MALTER, Dropsie College

JUDAEO-ARABIC authors are very fond of variously personifying the human body and soul, both separately and in their relations to one another. The instances are so numerous, the sources from which the various personifications are to be collected so widely scattered, and the aspects under which they were conceived so manifold, that the writer, working without a sufficient library, must at once surrender his ambition of giving an exhaustive study on the subject. Aside from some casual remarks, no attempt has hitherto been made at gathering and grouping the material according to some principle. The following may be taken as a modest beginning in this direction.

The subject is closely connected with the general idea that the universe and man are parallel; that whatever is found in the world without, in the macrocosm, is reflected or finds its counterpart also in the man, the microcosm. This doctrine is very old, being traceable not only to Pythagoras and Plato (Munk, *Guide*, I, 354, n. 1), but also to the oldest Babylonian literature (Hugo Winckler, *Die babylonische Kultur*, Leipzig 1902, p. 33). The Talmuds and Midrashim afford numerous instances of analogies

¹ See this REVIEW, 1911, p. 459, n. 12, 471, n. 42. A preceding study belonging to p. 457, n. 10, is soon to appear elsewhere.

between parts of the universe and of the human body; see particularly *אבות ררבי נתן*, ed. Schechter, c. 31 and the references given there. For several years I have been collecting material on this subject in mediæval Hebrew literature, and hope to treat it elsewhere. Here I limit myself to the analogy between soul and body without regard to the idea of microcosm.

The oldest instance of personification of soul and body in Jewish literature is, to my knowledge, the passage in b. Nedarim 32*b*. The "little city, and few men within it" (Eccl. 9. 14-16) is interpreted there as signifying the human body and its limbs, the "great king," who builds bulwarks against the city, is the evil spirit (*יצר הרע*), and the "poor wise man," who delivers it by his wisdom, yet is remembered by no one, is the good spirit (*יצר טוב*). The same interpretation is given by the Targum and Midrash *Kohel. rab.* on the verses referred to; comp. Bahya, *Duties*, V, 5, near beginning; *Zohar*, *פינהס*, III, 234*b*-235*b*; Samuel Ibn Tibbon, *יקוה המים*, Pressburg 1837, p. 92.

Very ingenious is the metaphor employed in b. Sanhedrin 91*a* (occurring also in *Lev. rab.*, c. 4, § 5, and Tanhuma, section *ויקרא*) to express the relation between soul and body. They are both compared to two men, one lame, the other blind, who, when called to account for the despoliation of the king's garden which they were appointed to watch, denied the deed on the ground of their physical disabilities. The king, however, placed the lame man on the shoulders of the blind one and demonstrated to them the way in which they had jointly committed the crime. The application is to the flesh and the spirit. When soul and body are arraigned before the Almighty they disown responsibility for their sins in this world. The soul alleges

that it had not the physical organs for committing sin, the body contends that without initiative from the soul it was incapable of any action. God thereupon reunites body and soul and metes out punishment to both together. This beautiful parable found its way also among the Arabs. The "Brethren of Purity," a humanistic society of Arab philosophers of the tenth century, reproduce the story with various embellishments characteristic of these Mohanmedan writers and their fondness for vivid imagery.² The Arabic superscription of the parable is "Al-Hindi," the Hindoo, thus declaring it to be of Hindoo origin. Steinschneider, however, cites various instances, where Arabic *Hindi*, Hebrew הורי, and Latin *Indus* are errors for *Yahudi*, יהודי, and *Judeus* (mediæval spelling), and believes this to be the case also here. The Arabs received the parable from the Jews, not from the Hindoos, as the latter are not known to have applied it to soul and body.³ This hypothesis is not acceptable. A quotation from Richard Garbe's "Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie" (1894), p. 164, (taken from *Ārīḥa* 21), kindly communicated to me by Professor George F.

² See Dieterici, *Anthropologie der Araber*, Leipzig 1871, p. 111-113.

³ *Il libro di Sidrach*, Rome 1872, p. 8, n. 2: "almeno non mi è noto che questa favola fosse applicata dagli Indiani all' anima ed al corpo"; comp. *Hebr. Bibliographie*, XIII, 31, especially his posthumous work *Rangstreit-Literatur*, in *Sitzungsb. d. philos. hist. Klasse d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, CLV (1908), No. IV, p. 58-60, where the question of the origin of the parable is more thoroughly discussed and also some Hindoo parallels quoted. In a recent work, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* by Louise Dudley (Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, vol. VIII), the learned authoress, over-anxious to prove her thesis, sees in all her material but Coptic and old Egyptian elements. Her general conclusions (p. 149, against Linow and Steinschneider; comp. also p. 160), as the passage from Garbe's work shows, are not at all conclusive. The present article, however, was already under print when the above dissertation came to my knowledge, which precludes a discussion in detail.

Moore, proves that the ascription is correct and that the Arabs took the parable from the Hindoos. The passage translated reads as follows:

"The relation between brute creative matter and the spiritual, but inactive, soul is compared to the alliance between the blind and the lame man. Finding themselves hopelessly entangled in a thicket, one took the other on his shoulders and both reached safety. The lame man is the soul. It has the power of vision, but according to the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya-system it can neither move nor act. The blind man is matter. It has the power of movement, and executes all of the world's actions, but it neither sees nor comprehends."

Through what channels the idea came into the Talmud, I am unable to say. The Brethren of Purity, or the "Noble Friends," as they also call themselves at times,⁴ could hardly have had any knowledge of the Talmud, since

⁴ I use the translation "Brethren of Purity," which is commonly met with in the works of European writers, especially those of Dieterici, who has edited and translated into German most of their writings. The real meaning of the arabic 'Iḥwān es-Ṣafā is, as Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 9, n. 1, and more particularly in the periodical "Der Islam," Strassburg 1910, I, 22-26) has proved, "The True Friends"; comp. Steinschneider, *JQR.*, XVII, 581 (357). In Hebrew literature they are mostly referred to by some general epithet, as קצת (אחד) הפילוסופים, החכמים, הקדמונים; comp. for instance Moses Ibn Ezra, in the periodical ציון, II, 120, l. 8 from bottom, with Dieterici, *Anthropologic*, p. 1. 110 f.; see also below, note 32. Palquera is to my knowledge the only author, who, in מבקש, 20b, 45a, top, refers to them as האחים הנאמנים והחברים הותיקים, corresponding to the Arabic اخوان الصفاء والاصدقاء الکرام 'Iḥwān es-Ṣafā, ed. Dieterici, p. 624, top); comp. also מבקש, 45b: הרעים הנאמנים. Joseph Albo, *Ikkārīm*, 111, and one of the versions of Maimonides' Letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbou (אבוןן קובץ תשובות הרמב"ם, Leipzig 1859, p. 28d) quote by the Arabic אבוןן אלצפא; comp. Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, 336, and Horowitz' Introduction to Ibn Ṣadrak's עולם קטן, VII, n. 31, 32.

there was no Jew in their ranks. Be that as it may they have been more than generous in their return to the Jews for what they have taken from the latter. For Jewish literature abounds in instances of allegories of soul and body, nearly all of which are taken directly or indirectly from the works of these humanists. As there is no other principle to guide us in the arrangement of the following quotations, they may be grouped historically according to the authors in whose works they first occur.

In the *Apophthegms* of the Arab Ḥoncin b. Ishāk (died 873)⁵ Hippocrates is credited with the sentence: מעלת השכל כמלת הגוף, "the intellect is to the body as the light is to the eye." This comparison is very frequently met with in the works of Arabic as well as Jewish authors. So Avicenna (died 1038) وقیاسة عقولنا قیاس الشمس, which expresses the same idea.⁶ In a work of Al-Fārābī (died 950)⁷ the comparison is made not with reference to the human soul or intellect in general, but to the "active" intellect in particular: יחס השכל הפועל מן האדם יחס השמים מן הראות. Similarly Al-Gazzālī (died 1111). *Ethics*, 151, 155. In the work מבחר הפנינים, attributed to Ibn Gabirol, at the end of ישער הפרישות, the sentence reads: וכאשר השמים אור העולם כן הנפש אור הגוף. Most of the Hebrew authors, drawing a line between the soul (נפש) and

⁵ Translated into Hebrew by Judah Al-Ḥarizi under the title מוסרי, הפילוסופים, II, 8, beginning, ed. Loewenthal, Frankf. a. M. 1896, p. 35.

⁶ Haneberg, *Zur Erkenntnisslehre von Ibn Sina und Albertus Magnus*, Munich 1866, p. 66, § 9; see also Avicenna's *Compendium of Psychology* published by Landauer, *ZDMG.*, XXIX, 371, l. 5.

⁷ התחלות הנמצאות, published by H. Filipowski in האסופה, Leipzig 1849, I, 5. The passage is quoted by Hillel b. Samuel (thirteenth century), in תגמולי הנפש, 7b, and by Shem Tob Palquera, המעילות, 15, who does not mention Al-Fārābī's work.

the intellect (יִשְׁכַּל), carry the simile to both.⁸ The sentence occurs in its original Arabic form in an anonymous Arabic commentary on Canticles.⁹ Without mentioning any source the author simply says: וְקֵד עֵלְמַת אֵן מְנוּלָה אֶלְעַקֵּל אֶלְפֶּאעֵל מֵן. אֶלְאֶנְסָאן מְנוּלָה אֶלְשִׁמְס מֵן אֶלְבְּצֵר. The origin of this comparison is Aristotle's *De Anima*, II, 1.¹⁰

Very frequent is another comparison, likewise of Aristotelian origin,¹¹ following which the soul is a craftsman and the body the tool of his trade. Saadia is here the first Jewish author to make use of this idea, when he says in reference to the soul: יִשְׁהִיָּא הִיא הַנּוֹתֶנֶת לְכָלִּים הַחַיִּים¹² and a little further: לֹא תַפְעֵל אֱלֹא בְנוֹף כִּי פִעַל כֹּל נִבְרָא צָרִיךְ אֵל: כֹּלִי מִהִבְלִים. Later authors are still more explicit on the subject.¹³ With the Brethren of Purity this comparison has

⁸ See e. g. Joseph Ibn 'Akūn, סֵפֶר מוֹסֵר, 103, 174, top, and in קוֹבֵץ ס' תְּשׁוּבוֹת הַרְמַב"ם, Leipzig 1859, II, 45b; Simon Duran, מִגְן אֲבוֹת, 19b, 80b, 83b.

⁹ Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, 53, bottom.

¹⁰ ὥς δ' ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ δυνάμις τοῦ ὁργανοῦ ἢ ἐργαλίου [*sc. ἐντελέχεια ἐστίν*]. το δὲ σῶμα το δυνάμις ὅν· ἄλλ' ὁσπερ ὁ ὁδοποιεὺς ἢ κόρυς καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα το ζῶον; comp. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 3d ed., II, 2, p. 487, n. 1, especially Steinschneider's annotation to Maimonides' מֵאמֶר הַיְחִיד, 17, n. 30, and *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 23, n. 150.

¹¹ Zeller, *l. c.* In the so called *Pseudo-Theory* of Aristotle it is repeatedly asserted in the name of the "divine philosopher" Plato that the soul is the real man and the body only the latter's instrument; see the Arabic text, edited by Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p. 120 (German translation, 122), 149.

¹² *Emūnōt*, Constantinople 1562, p. 54b. Arabic text, edited by Landauer, p. 195, l. 7; the later Hebrew editions have erroneously לְכָלִּים for לְכָלִּים.

¹³ So Ibn Šaddīk, עוֹלָם קָבֵץ (Breslau 1903), 32, bottom, 75, l. 8; שְׁהִיָּא כְכֵלֵי אִוְמָנוֹת וְכֵלֵי מִשְׁתַּמֶּשֶׁת כּו הַנֶּפֶשׁ (comp. Horowitz, *Psychologie*, 177, n. 95); Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, II, 26; Maimonides, מֵאמֶר תַּח"ה, near beginning; וּבִבְרָ נִזְדַּע שְׁהִנֵּף כְכֵלֵי אִוְמָנִים הוּא כֵלֵי לְנֶפֶשׁ; Joseph Ibn 'Akūn, סֵפֶר מוֹסֵר, 19, 115 (comp. Goldziher, *Kitāb ma'ani al-nafs*, 48); Palquera, ס' הַנֶּפֶשׁ, c. 3; the anonymous author of the commentary on

become almost a habit. They exploit the thought from every possible point of view, even to the extent of making it trivial.¹⁴

The works of the Brethren of Purity are the chief source also for numerous parables on body and soul. Thus they are compared to a king and his palace, the governor and his province, the mayor and the city, or the house (body) and its inmate, similes which are in turn worked out with minute detail, with points of comparison carried to extremes. A few instances will suffice to illustrate the method. On one occasion where body and soul are compared to the house and its occupants the head is likened to the attic of the house, the eyes and ears are peep-holes, the throat is the corridor, the lungs are the summer-palace, the heart, with its natural warmth, the winter-palace, the stomach is the kitchen, mouth and lips are door and door-posts, the teeth are watchmen, and the tongue is the chamberlain. Where comparison deals with loftier personages each character is given a train of attendants. Thus in the instance in which the soul or the intellect is made the king, the five faculties of the mind, called the "inner" senses,¹⁵ become his ministers, the five physical (or "outer") senses are his soldiers, the ears are the messengers, who bring the

Canticles, quoted above, 52, bottom; Joseph Albo, *Ikkarim*, II, 28, and others; comp. Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 57, n. 54; Goldziher, *l. c.*, 28, first note on text, p. 19; Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1909, p. 13, n. 2.

¹⁴ See Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 5-9, 17, 43, 128; *Die Lehre von der Weltseele*, 91 f. (Arabic text, ed. Dieterici, 513 f.); comp. also Al-Ġazzālī, *Ethics*, 38: והגוף כלי לנפש ומרכבה.

¹⁵ Al-Fārābī appears to have been the first to introduce a distinction between *outer* and *inner* senses: *الاحساس الظاهرة والباطنة*; see his *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, c. 20, *apud* Schmoeders, *Documenta Philosophiae Arabum*, Bonn 1836, p. 23. By "inner" senses are understood those functions of the soul or

news to the king, the hands are his servants, and so on.¹⁶ This simile is not original with the Brethren of Purity. It was used earlier, in less detail however, by Al-Fārābī in a treatise on the soul.¹⁷ An interesting parallel to this simile appears in Avicenna's Compendium of Psychology, *ZDMG.*, XXIX, 353: القوة المحركة في الحيوان الغير الناطق: كالامير المخدوم والحواس الخمس كالجواسيس المبثوثه والقوة المنصورة كصاحب بريد الامير اليه يرجع الجواسيس والقوة التخليه كالفيج الساعي بين البريد وبين صاحب البريد والقوة الموثمة كالوزير والقوة الناكرة كخزانه الاسرار.¹⁸ This presentation is made use of

intellect which, according to the opinion of the Arabs, are performed without the assistance of any of the five "outer," bodily senses, as apperception, imagination, cogitation, and retention. The Arabic philosophers differ as to the number of these functions, Al-Fārābī counting four, while our authors, as well as later writers, enumerate five. There is, moreover, much disagreement as to the single functions which are to be included in this number. We are here not concerned, however, in these particulars. For a detailed discussion see Kaufmann, *Die Theologie des Bachja*, 12-15. Medieval Hebrew authors followed their Arabic masters in all these points. Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 46 ff., gives a long list of Hebrew authors discussing the חושים פנימיים, to which many more can be added. So Dunash b. Tamim (10th century), commentary on *Yeqirah*, London 1902, p. 64; Palquera, *הנפש*, c. 12, 18; Aaron b. Elijah, introduction to *גן עדן*; Meir Aldābi, *שביילי אמונה*, Warsaw 1887, p. 141, col. b (taken from *שער השמים* of Gerson b. Solomon, Rodelheim 1801, 76, top); Simon Duran, *מגן אבות*, 31b, 35b; Isaac Abrabanel, *רוחניים פנימיים וחיצוניים* often is used *רוחניים וגופניים*, which is also found in Arabic sources, so in the works of the Brethren of Purity, ed. Dieterici, 209, bottom. The poet Immanuel of Rome uses *פנימיים ומורגשים* (*Alakāma* 18, ed. Lemberg 1870, p. 132b). Berechiah ha-Nakdan, *ס' החבור*, ed. Collancz, London 1902, p. 52, 146, uses *גשמיים וגשמיים*.

¹⁶ See Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 5 ff., 17, 43, 128, especially 53, 56; *Weltseele*, 33, 46 f., 109 f.; comp. *Naturanschauung*, 83, *Microcosmos*, 72, 80.

¹⁷ Translated into Hebrew by Zerachiah b. Isaac (1280) under the title *מאמר במהות הנפש* and published in the collection *חמדה גמולה*, Königsberg 1856, p. 48a, comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 295 f.

¹⁸ See the German translation of Landauer, *ib.*, 391, n. 14, and the parallel, Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 32.

anonymously by Al-Ġazzālī, מאזני צדק, 39: ואמרו הכח החושב: 39, מאזני צדק, 39: ומשכנו באמצע המוח הוא כמו המלך שישב על כסאו ומקום מושבו באמצע מלכותו והדמיוני משכנו לפני המוח מתנהג במנהג שלוחו ומשנהו הרוכב בערו בכל מלכותו אשר יביא אליו החרשות מכל עבר והכח השומר... הוא כמו בעל אוצרותיו ונאמן ביתו והכח המדבר הוא כמו המליין בערו והכח הפועל הוא כמו סופרו והחושים כמרגלים את הארץ ובעלי השמועות האדם עיניו מורים ואזניו מקבלים ולשונו: ולשונו האדם עיניו מורים ואזניו מקבלים ולשונו: ולשונו תורגמו וידיו כנפיו ורגליו שלוחיו ולבו כמלך יושב בבית מלכותו וכטוב לב המלך בין אז יטב לב רבי חייליו ושירי צבאיו.¹⁹

This imagery proved a source of inspiration also to the poets of the Synagogue. In discussing some liturgical productions containing similar figures, Steinschneider says with reference to the passage just cited: "For this beautiful description of the human body the Synagogue is indebted to Ġazzālī."²⁰ The passage inspired him to a ~~material~~ imitation given below.

metric

Die Augen sind die Führer,
Die Ohren die Kassirer,
Die Zunge ist der Dragoman,
Die Hände Flügelmänner,

¹⁹ *Ib.*, p. 40; see the many similar pictures, often highly poetical, in the tenth chapter of the work, out of which the following two sentences may be quoted here, as they belong to our subject proper. The one, p. 63, reads: משל נפש האדם בגופו כמשל מושל בעירו ומלכותו וכחותיו ואבריו המשרתים הם וגופו הוא כמו מדינה ושכלו כמו מלך; the other, p. 66: מנהיג אותה וכחותיו חמשיגים מהחושים החיצונים והפנימיים הם כמו פרשים בעם. The *ו* in *מהחושים* is partitive, the sense being: and his faculties of comprehension and perception consisting of the outer and inner senses are like soldiers etc.; comp. *Lev. rab.* 4, § 4; see also Tholuck, *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*, 213; E. H. Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes*, 12, 2, p. 213 f.

²⁰ *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1876, p. 191, note.

Die Füße sind die Renner,
 Das Herz der thronende Sultan:
 Und ist's dem König wohl ums Herz;
 Dann fühlt kein Diener Sorg' und Schmerz.²¹

Jewish philosophers, nurtured in the literature of the Arabs, naturally followed the same line of thought. Thus Bahya Ibn Paḳūda's masterful description of the human body as a palace with the intellect as its royal resident attended to by a splendid staff of servants,²² agrees in its main features, as also in many details, with that of the Brethren of Purity. Abraham Ibn Ezra is another instance of prominent Hebrew authors who took delight in portraying soul and body in Arabic fashion.²³ In Judah Halevi's symbolical description of the Tabernacle and the sacrificial cult (*Kuzari*, II, 26)²⁴ "King Intellect" (מלך)

²¹ Steinschneider, *Manna*, Berlin 1847, p. 83.

²² *Duties*, III, 9; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13, n. 8; Kaufmann, *Die Theologie des Bachja*, 19. Palquera's detailed description of the body comparing its various organs to parts of the universe (מבקש, 46a) occurs with slight variations also in Ibn Ṣaddīk's קטן עולם, 24 (comp. Horowitz, *Psychologie*, 162, n. 45) and is taken from the Brethren of Purity (see Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 4 f.), while the author of the ספר הישר (c 1), attributed erroneously to R. Jacob Tam, drew upon the *Duties* of Bahya.

²³ See e. g. his introduction to the commentary on Ecclesiastes and *ib.*, I, 16, especially his חי בן מקיץ, an imitation of a work of Avicenna, in the collection הפשט ממנונים, Berlin 1845, p. 47. The Hebrew translation of Avicenna's work and that of an Arabic commentary on the same under the title אגרת חי בן מקיץ was published by Kaufmann in the periodical קובץ על יד, II, Berlin 1886; see *ib.*, 20 f. for passages relating to the subject under consideration.

²⁴ Comp. also *ib.*, III, 5, beginning; Bahya, *Duties*, I, 7, end. Ibn Zebarah, (הדעת הוא מלך הגוף) ספר שעשועים, (1866), 24 may also be here referred to; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 15, particularly the many instances quoted by Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 63, n. 70; comp. also Judah Al-Barceloni, פירוש ס' יצירה, Berlin 1885, p. 109, 265; Bahya b. Asher, beginning of section בשלח.

(השכר) dwelling in the heart is compared to the *Shekinah* which resided in the Sanctuary. He, too, like Avicenna whose psychological theories he adopted,²⁵ makes of the inner and outer senses a kind of advisory board to the intellect. Less complimentary to the body is Joseph Ibn Saddīk. The animal soul, which is a general term for all functions of the physical senses, is the mere servant of the rational soul: המלך והנפש [החיה] היא כמו שומר: והנפש החכמה כמו המלך והנפש [החיה] היא כמו שומר: והנפש החכמה כמו המלך והנפש [החיה] היא כמו שומר: והנפש החכמה כמו המלך והנפש [החיה] היא כמו שומר.²⁶ His source is the treatise of Al-Fārābī, p. 48a.²⁷ The distinction between the souls is of Platonic origin.²⁸ Passages of this kind from the works of Hebrew authors are too numerous for quotation. The above will suffice as examples.

To this category of similes in which the soul always appears as a sovereign with the body as its royal quarters,

²⁵ Steinschneider first called attention to Judah Halevi's dependence upon Avicenna, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, X, 57, n. 2. Landauer, *ZDMG.*, XXIX, 335 ff., proved it in detail; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 18, n. 121; Kaufmann, *Theologie des Bachja*, 12, n. 4.

²⁶ עולם קטן (1903), 37. On other occasions he, like Abraham Ibn Ezra (Introduction to Commentary on Eccl.), uses also the simile of house and resident; see *ib.*, 33, top (בשוכן בתוך הבית); comp. Horovitz' Introduction, XII, n. 53, *Psychologie*, 161, n. 43, 177, n. 95. Similarly Palquera, *מבקש*, 47a: והוא אצל נפש כבית שבת וכלבוש לבשת.

²⁷ See above, note 17; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 296, n. 204; comp. also Schmiedl, *Studien*, 145. I must call attention here to a passage quoted by the author of the Commentary on Canticles, 55, of which I do not know the source. It reads: הראשון אשה. שני הגוף לנפש כשומר לפני הדיינים שלישי לב בנפש כמלך לבעלה כנר בבית. The last portion is found literally in the book *Yeqirah*, c. 6, § 2, where the version of Saadia, ed. Lambert, 102, top, has more correctly לב בגוף; comp. Judah Al-Barceloni as quoted, note 24, and Dunash Ibn Tamim, פס"י, 71. The middle portion expresses, I believe, the same idea as quoted above from Ibn Saddīk. The author seems to have taken the whole passage from some younger Midrash.

²⁸ Horovitz, *Psychologie*, 174, n. 83, 177, n. 91.

belongs also the comparison of the soul to a captain steering a vessel (body), a thought that can be traced back to Plato. Here again the Brethren, true to their method, spin a long yarn (see Dieterici, *Macrocosmos*, 107-110), contriving a variety of supplementary analogies to complete the picture. Thus e. g. man's actions are compared to the merchandise with which the vessel is fraught, the world is the ocean, life is a voyage across the sea, death is the haven, and the hereafter is the home of the passengers,²⁹ or the safe harbor, where captain and craft take their final rest (Dieterici, *Anthropologic*, 17, 43, 127).

It has been pointed out already by Steinschneider (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 8) that the works of the Brethren have influenced also the Kabbalah. Thus we find the above simile applied in the *Zohar*, Exod., section ויקהה, 199. The prophet Jonah's going on board of a ship is allegorized as the human soul entering the body. The name Jonah (from ינה = to deceive) is applied to the soul, which is deceived into a calamitous association with the body. "And the ship was like to be broken" (Jonah, I, 4) is taken as an allusion to the frailty of the human body, constantly threatened by the storms of life. The lengthy exposition of the *Zohar* was translated literally into Hebrew and made part of a later Midrash on the book of Jonah.³⁰ The metaphor is

الجسد كالسفينة والنفس كالملأح
والاعمال كالامعة للتجار والدنيا كالبحر والموت كالساحل والدار الآخرة
كمدينه التجار والله تع كللك المجازي هناك.

²⁹ *Thivân es-Safâ*, ed. Dieterici, 457: ³⁰ מדרש יונה, in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, I, 103 f.; comp. Jellinek, *ib.*, p. XIX. For the Aramaic of the *Zohar* I quote a part of the passage of the Hebrew translation of the Midrash: יונה שירד לספינה זו הנשמה של אדם שירדה בעולם הזה להיות בגוף של אדם הנמושל לספינה ולמה מקרי הנשמה

very frequently met with in the works of philosophic writers. So Ibn 'Aḳnin, II, 45a: קובין תשובות הרמב"ם, השלמות שני מינים... והמין השני שיהיה עושה בשלמות כמו רב החובל. The same, but more elaborately, he says in his ספר מוסר, 173. The whole discussion of Ibn 'Aḳnin in the *Ḳobey* is found almost verbally in Palquera's ספר הנפש, c. 3, a work which is wholly based on Avicenna's Compendium of Psychology mentioned before.³¹ Palquera uses the metaphor also in c. 15 of the same work as also in some of his other works.³² The Italian author Hillel b. Samuel (thirteenth century),³³ the Karaite Aaron b. Elijah (fourteenth century),³⁴ and the Christian scholastic Thomas Aquinas quote it in the name of Plato.³⁵

יונה על דרך הפסוק לא תונו איש את עמיתו וכל זה גורם השותפות שיש לה עם הגוף והאדם הולך בעולם הזה כספינה בלב הים הגדול שחישב[ה] להשבר כדכתיב 'והאניה השבה להשבר וכו'.

³¹ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 18, n. 122b and p. 989, No. 5.

³² See his אגרת החלום, *JQR*, 1910, p. 471, where the simile is quoted as a משל הקרמונים, by which the Brethren of Purity are to be understood; see above, note 4; comp. also צרי היגון Hanau 1716, p. 14a-16b, and Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30.

³³ תגמולי הנפש, 3b, 15b, 16a.

³⁴ עין חיים, c. 108, beginning.

³⁵ See הנפש דבקה לגוף, 2: חמדה גנוזה מאמר על הנפש. The editor wrongly ascribes the treatise to Ibn Gabirol; see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 22, n. 144. Prof. Louis Ginzberg communicates to me the following passage from the דרשות of Joshua Ibn Shu'aib (fourteenth century), section ווארא, ed. Constantinople 1523, fol. 27, col. c.: וחכם גדול מהאומות קרא הנפש אניה ואין ספק שקבל זה מחכמי ישראל... הנשמה העליונה אניה הבאה ממקום המים הנקראים ים ומשם משתלשלת ובאה בגוף האדם. Ibn Shu'aib only proves hereby that he was not well-informed on the subject. For pseudo-Bahya and others see Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 50. The quotation there from Bahya b. Asher's commentary on Genesis fully agrees with the passage in Ibn 'Aḳnin's ספר מוסר, 173, referred to above.

Somewhat similar to the above group of metaphors is the one in which the soul is conceived of as a rider and the body as the steed. The world appears here as a race-track, on which the wise are the winners.³⁶ The same simile is used by Al-Ġazzālī, *Ethics*, 156: הנפש הוא כמו הפרש והנוף כמו הסוס. Elsewhere in the same work (p. 134)³⁷ he compares the body to a chariot which conveys the soul to its celestial abode: הנוף הוא מרכבת הנפש אשר בו תעבור אל משכני עליין, a metaphor found very frequently also in the writings of Avicenna.³⁸ Among Jewish writers mention may here be made of the anonymous authors of the *Kitāb ma'ānī al-nafs*³⁹ and of the fragmentary commentary on Canticles⁴⁰ referred to above. Shem Tob Palquera says:⁴¹ תכלית הנוף להיות מרכב לנפש ומעבר ללבת אל עולמה עני ורוכב על חמור. Very remarkable in this connection is a passage in a later Midrash in which the Messianic verse

واجسد كالدابة والنفس ³⁶ *Iḥwān es-Ṣafā, ed. Dieterici, 457:*

كالراكب والدنيا كالمدان والعالون كالسباق ; comp. Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 17, 43, 127 f.

187 ³⁷ Comp. also *ib.*, 128; bottom (הנוף מרכבת ועובר לנפש) and the passage quoted above, note 14.

³⁸ See Mehren, *Les Rapports de la philosophie d'Avicenne avec l'Islam*, Louvain 1883, p. 15.

³⁹ See that work, p. 63, l. 20; פתכון הי באפרס אלדי יתהר פרוסיתה ; באפרס אלדי הצלת לתנפיר עגלה נשמת האדם העליונה תקרא לב ... בעבור היות (comp. Goldziher *ad locum*, p. 50. Abraham Ibn Ezra on Exod. 1, 1 says: הלב המרכבת הראשונה לה (המחנה הראשון לנפש). Similarly Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, II, 26. The purpose of these authors, however, is not the application of the simile, but the designation of the heart as the organ in which the soul resides. For details on this matter see Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 63, n. 70.

⁴⁰ Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, 58, bottom.

⁴¹ אגרת החלום, *JQR.*, 1910, p. 471; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30 f.

(Zech. 9, 9) is interpreted as a reference to the poor soul riding the body.⁴² The original source of this group of similes is Plato's *Phaedo*.⁴³

The spirit of mediæval gloom and asceticism manifests itself in another group of metaphors in which the body is likened to a prison or dungeon,⁴⁴ a grave from which the soul escapes only at the moment of death,⁴⁵ an unburied corpse carried on a bier by the soul.⁴⁶ Again the body is an idolater, a heretic, a hypocrite, a fool, Satan, devil, a courtesan, with whom the soul, an inexperienced stranger⁴⁷

⁴² מדרש אגדה, ed. Buber, Vienna 1894, I, 159. The Midrash offers two interpretations as follows: מצייל עני מחזק ממנו ועני ואביון מגזולו עני זה הנפש וגזולו זה הגוף וכן פרוש עני ורוכב על חמור ר"ל מורכב הנפש על החמור או יהיה פרוש ורוכב על חמור שעלכ הנפש את הגוף ועזב יתרונו העולם וישועו הקב"ה מן הגוף הנגוף; comp. Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 47, n. 2. Jedaiah ha-Penini of Beziers, *בחנית עולם*, c. 16, beginning, uses the same metaphor, warning the intellect against the allurements of the "braying ass" (נעירת). His commentator Moses Ibn Habib justifies this upbraiding of the body by a reference to a passage in b. Berakot 3a (משמורה) which he interprets in the same way. In Baḥya's תוכחה it is the body that is termed ר"ל עני אביון והלך; comp., on the other hand, his *Duties*, V, 5, where, following the Talmud, Nedarim 32b (see above, p. 454), he applies מסכן to the soul; comp. *Kohel. rab.*, 4, 13.

⁴³ See Dieterici, *Macrocosmos*, 14; comp. also *Phaedrus*, 246 A, where the soul is described as a charioteer (ἡνίοχος).

⁴⁴ *حبوس ومطامير*, 'Iḥwān, ed. Dieterici, 451; comp. Dieterici, *Weltseele*, 32 f., *Macrocosmos*, 97.

⁴⁵ 'Iḥwān, 513, 586; Dieterici, *Weltseele*, 91, 189, *Anthropologie*, 126.

⁴⁶ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131.

⁴⁷ The idea of the soul being a stranger in this world is a favored theme also with Jewish authors; see for instance Baḥya, *Duties*, III, 2: שהשכל הוא עצם רוחני נגזר מן העולם העליון והוא נכרי בעולם הגופים העבים והשכל מפני שהוא נכרי אין לו מחזק ולא חבר והכל כנגדו; and a little further: ויעלה על לבו גרות הנפש (comp. also *ib.*, IV, 4, ed. Königsberg 1858, p. 101).

in this world, is brought in contact, who takes advantage of the stranger's inexperience and by her demoralizing power brings him to ruin.⁴⁸ All this found expression also in Jewish mediæval literature. To collect all passages bearing on the subject would be a tiresome and unprofitable task. Bahya Ibn Paḳūda's *Exhortation* (תוכחה) alone contains nearly all the epithets of the body enumerated above,⁴⁹ while the famous moralizing *Examen Mundi* (בחינת עולם) of Jedaiah ha-Penini offers a still richer collection of such terms. The figures of the prison, grave, corpse, and the like, which occur frequently also in the works of Philo, were a favorite with the liturgical poets.⁵⁰

There is another category of metaphors intimately related to those under discussion. The Arabs as well as the Jews often substitute the world for the body. Thus the world, too, aside from being represented as an ocean

(בעו"ה), VIII, 3, last *Meditation*; Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 44, n. 1. Jedaiah ha-Penini's *בחינת עולם* abounds in phrases expressing the same thought. The soul is "kidnaped from the king's palace" and made to "live among strangers" (גנובת היכלי מלך ... לגור בין נכרים), a "traveler on the road taking lodging in an inn" (כאורח נשטה ללון), *ib.*, c. 14-15), and so forth; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13; Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 47, n. 1, 3; see also *בן המלך והמזור*, c. 20.

⁴⁸ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131 f. The reader can rest assured that our authors do not fail to give the soul the good advice not to heed the jugglery of the woman-body, who, they assure, if treated with indifference by her intended victim, will soon desist from her coquetry (*ib.*, 132).

⁴⁹ Aside from the lengthy description of the body as a deceiver and seducer the author calls it also *גוף נמאס ופגר מובס, מסגר* (= heretic), and the like; comp. also his *Duties*, V, 5, beginning. Jedaiah, c. 14, in allusion to Gen. 40, 15, puts in the mouth of the soul *בית אפל* and *מאסר*; c. 15 he uses *בבור* = dungeon.

⁵⁰ See the numerous references in Steinschneider's *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 298, n. 21, and *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 12 f.; comp. also *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, III, 190, n. *.

who constantly quarrel with one another. So Gazzālī, *Ethics*, 157: דע שמשל העולם הזה והאחר הוא כשתי כפות המאונים: וכמו מזרח ומערב וכשתי צרות כי כל זמן שתִּרְצֶה האחת מהם תכניס האחרת. Gazzālī is probably the source of Bahya:⁵⁷ ואמרו העולם הזה והעולם הבא כשתי צרות כאשר תרצה האחת תקציף השנית. The sentence seems to be of Hindoo origin as it occurs also in the romance "Prince and Dervish,"⁵⁸ which was translated from Arabic into Hebrew under the title בן המלך והנזיר by the same Abraham Ibn Ḥisdai who translated the aforementioned work of Gazzālī. There, c. 14, the sentence reads as follows: והעולם הזה ואמר אחר מִשַּׁל העולם הזה לשתי צרות כל שיהב האדם האחת תכעס האחרת.⁵⁹ Immanuel of Rome (מחברות עמנואל, Maḳāma 19), rimes: ואמר החכם אשר היו דבריו עזרה בצרות העולם הזה והבא כשתי צרות האחד כשפחה והשני כנברת לא תרצה האחת עד שתקציף האחרת.⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥisdai provides the two women with the names of Ḥannah and Peninnah (I Sam. 1), Ḥannah figur-

⁵⁷ *Duties*, VIII, 3, beginning of the 25th Meditation. Bahya's dependence upon Gazzālī has been proved by A. S. Yahuda, see Goldziher, *REJ.*, 1904, p. 154 ff.

⁵⁸ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 864 f.

⁵⁹ Moses Ibn Ḥabib, 26a, bottom, drew, according to Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30, n. 12, upon Ibn Ḥisdai. Ibn Ḥabib's version, however, is somewhat different (במה שתבעס האחת תשמה האחרת). The sentence is quoted also by Samuel Kimḥi (1346); see Steinschneider, *ib.*, p. 106.

⁶⁰ The ed. pr., Brescia 1491, and ed. Lemberg 1870, p. 149, bottom, have erroneously שתשקף for שתקציף which is the reading of ed. Constantinople. Saul b. Simon who first published Palquera's צרי היגון (Cremona 1557) and claims to have reproduced its contents from memory (see this REVIEW, 1910, p. 173, n. 42) has embodied in his memory numerous passages from Immanuel's work. Thus the whole lengthy passage in Immanuel's *Maḳāmas*, from which the above sentences are taken, is reproduced literally, with a few omissions, in the צרי היגון, ed. Hanau 7a. There, too, the reading is שתשקף. The work ought to be republished from the original MS. found in the collection of the late David Kaufmann.

ing, of course, as the better of the two.⁶¹ Immediately before the sentence just quoted Ibn Hisdai quotes the saying of a wise man⁶² that this world is the paradise of the wicked and the prison of the righteous: העולם הזה ערן המין ומאסר המאמין. This, too, is found in the works of Al-Gazzālī⁶³ and Immanuel.⁶⁴ Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīq, who is also to be mentioned here, has (עולם קטן, 76, bottom): ובאמת נאמר על העולם שהוא בית הסהר לנקיים וגנת הרשעים. Ibn Hisdai is also the source for Immanuel's הם נשואי נררשי תבל הם נשואי. In בן המלך והנזיר, *l. c.*, the sentence reads: העולם הבא גט העולם הזה קדושין לעולם הבא.⁶⁵

The Arabic Humanists often conceive of the body also as a covering, as the outside protection of something more precious that is placed within. Thus they frequently compare the soul in the body to an embryo in the mother's womb, the chick in the egg, the pearl in the shell, or the

⁶¹ Comp. Dukes, *Beiträge*, II, 103, addition to p. 56 (in Steinschneider's *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 867, n. 117, erroneously "36"), who refers to a similar conception in the *Hitopadesa*.

⁶² The Brethren of Purity attribute the sentence to the Prophet; see Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 144; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13, n. 8.

⁶³ העולם הזה הוא מאסר הראשון וגן השני, 218, מאוני צדק. The words ראשון and שני refer to the righteous and the wicked whom the author had described in the preceding pages. Gazzālī and Ibn Ṣaddīq seem to have escaped the notice of Steinschneider, *l. c.*

⁶⁴ The older editions have corruptedly ערן המין for ערן המין, while ed. Lemberg, 149, bottom, has עמוד הימין ומאסר המאמין which gives no sense at all.

⁶⁵ So also in צרי היגון, *l. c.*

⁶⁶ In this form the sentence was made use of by Ibn Hābib, *l. c.* 22 a, top, where, however, the word גט and, perhaps, also a reference to the source were omitted in print, rendering the passage unintelligible; see *ib.*, 26a, 33b (see above, p. 469, note 56) where two other sentences taken from Ibn Hisdai are introduced by וכבר אמר (כמאמר) החכם במשליו.

man in the garment.⁶⁷ The comparison of the soul with an embryo is not merely the creation of a fertile imagination but part of a well defined system. According to these authors, when the individual soul is sent down from heaven, where she was at one with the universal soul, to join the human body, she is made to forget the wisdom that was hers in the former abode.⁶⁸ She must now regain it

هذه الاجساد لهذه النفوس الجزئية بنزلة البيضة.⁶⁷ *Thwān*, 599:

الفرخ والمشيخة للجنين. The following is a collection of metaphors given

في المتأانيات في النفس والجسد by the authors under the superscription

النفس كالجنين والجسد (on the similitudes of soul and body) *ib.*, 195:

كالرحم النفس كالصبي والجسد كالملكب النفس كالساكن والجسد كالنزل النفس كالراكب والجسد كالركوب النفس كالملأح والجسد كالسفينة النفس كالملك والجسد كالمملوك النفس كالصانع والجسد كالادكان النفس صانع والجسد مصنوع النفس سائس والجسد مسووس النفس كالملاك وقواها كالجنود والرعية والجسد كليا ازداد هرمًا وشيخوخة ازدادت النفس طراوة وشبوبة

For brevity's sake I give only the contrasts: embryo — womb, boy — school, inhabitant — habitation, rider — beast, captain — vessel, king — subject, artisan — (his) shop, workman — material, master — pupil —; “and in proportion as the body grows old and decrepit, the soul grows young and vigorous”; comp. Dieterici, *Logik*, 142, *Macrocosmos*, 97, *Microcosmos*, 184, *Naturanschauung*, 83.

⁶⁸ That the soul is deprived of her previous knowledge when entering this world is taught already in the Talmud, Niddah 30b: דרש ר' שמלאי למה: הולד דומה במעי אמו לפנקס שמקופל ... ונר דלוק לו על ראשו וצופה ונכבש מסוף העולם ועד סופו ... ומלמדו אותו כל התורה כלה ... וכיון שבא לאור העולם מלאך בא וסותרו על פיו ומשכחו כל התורה כלה... The anonymous author of the *Kitāb ma'āni al-naḥs*, who wrote under the influence of the Brethren of Purity, refers very often to this passage in support of this (Platonic) theory; comp. Goldziher's notes on pp. 28, 56, 62 of that work, where numerous

through her own efforts in her earthly career. At the outset of her career on earth she, therefore, resembles the embryo awaiting development and perfection. The embryonic soul, in virtue of her divine origin, naturally seeks to repossess herself of the lost treasures of wisdom and grandeur, which she can accomplish only through constant application to study and search after truth (*ἀναύρησις*). Here, however, she meets with the stubborn resistance of her earthly companion. In his low passions and desires he tries to divert her from the right path and to drag her into the mire of worldly pleasures. If she is strong enough to withstand the temptations and subdues the enemy, making him subservient to her higher aims, she fulfills her mission on earth, and on the day of death, departing from the body, she returns to her celestial home, where, in reward of her long struggles and sufferings, she is admitted to the galaxy of angels that surround the throne of God. The death of the body is, therefore, the birth of the soul,⁶⁹ the final act in the evolution from embryo to full maturity. If, on the other hand, the soul yields to the seductions of the body, neglects her higher duties, and indulges in sensual desires, she has failed in the purpose for which she was sent. On departing from the body she is denied admittance

parallels from Arabic sources are given, to which the *Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle*, edited by Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p. 93 f., may be added; see also the work *אבן רוכל*, part III, c. 2, ed. Warsaw 1876, p. 42; Jellinek, *Be' ha-Midrash*, I, 154.

⁶⁹ Gazzālī who did not care much for the Brethren of Purity and once stigmatized them as the lowest class of philosophic popularizers (comp. Goldziher, *REJ.*, XLIX, 160), labors under the same conceptions. In his *Ethics*, 219, he clearly says: *המזל הוא לדה שנית*; comp. the long parable in Palquera's *מבקש* 45, and Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 40, n. 281.

to the heavenly spheres and doomed to eternal wanderings between heaven and earth.⁷⁰

These ideas are not original with the Brethren of Purity. They are of common occurrence in Neo-Platonic literature. Various Jewish writers, some even older than the authors of the *Encyclopædia*, move along the same lines. What is of special interest to us here is that even the similes themselves, peculiar as they are, were made use of by Jewish writers. Thus in Bahya's *Duties*, III 9, we read: והם ממך כשליא מן הולר ובקליפת הביצה מן האפרוח which is literally the same as quoted above from the works of the 'Iḥwān.⁷¹ For the contrast of schoolboy and school I do not know of any direct parallel in Jewish literature.⁷² The underlying idea, however, namely that the soul was

⁷⁰ The thought is also familiar in the Talmud; comp. Shabbat 152b: תניא ר' אליעזר אומר נשמתן של צדיקים גנוזות תחת כסא הכבוד ... ושל רשעים זוממות והולכות (ומלאך אחד עומד בסוף העולם ומלאך אחר עומד בסוף העולם ומקליעין נשמתן זה לזה) comp. also *Sifre*, נשוא, 40, פנחס, 139; *Kohel. rab.*, 3, 21; Saadia, *Emūnōt*, ed. Cracow, 137 (whose version of the passage agrees more with *Abot dirabbi Nathan*, c. 12), and especially Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 53 f., notes on pp. 65, 66, who quotes also Isaac Israeli (end of ninth century) and passages from the *Zohar*. See also Schörr, החלוין, VIII, 19. The last pages of Ibn Ṣaddik's קמן עולם are devoted to the presentation of this theory; see Horowitz, *Psychologie*, 198 ff. It should be noticed that in בן המלך והנזיר, c. 35, the same views are expounded by the Dervish to the docile Prince. Jedaiah, בחינת עולם, c. 14 (משחיתים מחבלים אשר בעלותה מרום הרים) (לתחתיות יריצוה) may also be referred to; comp. Ibn Ḥabib, *ad locum*. The whole matter is closely connected with the theory of the pre-mundane existence of the soul; comp. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, Berlin 1900, p. 23, 36; Goldziher, *l. c.*, 49.

⁷¹ See the Arabic text just quoted; Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 17, 44, 126.

⁷² For the metaphor man and garment see above, p. 463, note 26, the quotation from Palquera's מובקש and p. 465, note 35, the quotation from חמרה גנוזה (Aquinas).

sent down to this world for study and introspection, so as to merit by her own efforts the reward that is intended for her in the world to come, is taught also by Jewish philosophers.⁷³

Of a more general character is the conception of the body as a cloud obstructing the light of the sun (soul)⁷⁴ and can be met with in various forms also in the works of Jewish authors.⁷⁵ Special emphasis was laid on the personification of the soul as a dove which is ensnared in the mazes of the body.⁷⁶ A similar idea is expressed by the author of the commentary on Canticles, in Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, texts, p. 50, l. 6 from below: ומחלהא יטבה חמאמה מתוסטה בין טאווס פוקהא וגראב תחתהא ואלגראב גאדבהא אלי אספל ואלטאווס אלי אעלי ותרדר הד' כתר. "The soul is comparable to a dove which is placed between a peacock that is above her and a raven that is under her, the latter pulling her repeatedly downward and the former upward."⁷⁷

In conclusion it must be stated that while in nearly all the instances discussed above the Jewish authors appear to have followed Arabic models, there is a considerable number of metaphors scattered in haggadic and midrashic⁷⁸

⁷³ The authors are too numerous to be quoted. Saadia expounds this idea in the fourth chapter of his *Emūnōt*; comp. Horovitz, *Psychologie*, 45 f., particularly Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 47 f.

⁷⁴ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131 f.

⁷⁵ Comp. Baḥya, *Duties*, VIII, 3, 14th Meditation: הקין אחי מן השנה; הזאת וכו', which is entirely in the style of the *Ṭḥwān*; the commentary on Canticles, l. c., 50, l. 8, from bottom, 56, l. 14 ff.; Pseudo-Empedocles in Kaufmann's *Studien über Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, 22, top: כמו הנפש שהיא צורה... להגוף והגוף צל לה.

⁷⁶ Discussed by Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 49 f.; *Der Islam*, I, 25. The simile quoted above, p. 464, note 30, is conceived under another aspect and does not belong here.

⁷⁷ Comp. *Kohel. rab.* 2, 14, § 2.

⁷⁸ See *Levit. rab.*, 4, § 8.

literature, which seem to have originated with the Jews. A collection of these similes, however, was not within the scope of the present article. Only a few that bear some semblance to similes treated already may be pointed out in passing. Thus in *Levit. rab.*, 34, § 3, it is reported of Hillel that when he left his disciples he used to say that he is going to attend to his guest in the house. On being asked whether he is troubled with guests every day he answered, Is not that poor soul a guest in the body? to-day she is here, to-morrow she may be gone.⁷⁹

Mediaeval authors often allude to the soul as a bird kept prisoner in a cage or flying about seeking rest. A similar conception is found already in *Sanh. 92a, Levit. rab.*, 4, § 5: **צפור טהורה פורחת באויר**.⁸⁰ The Kabbalists designate the

הדין נפשא עלובתא לאו אכסניא היא בנו גופא יומא דין היא הכא למרר **לית היא הכא**. This passage bears strong resemblance to the popular sentence **בן המלך והנזיר היום כאן ומחר בקבר**, which occurs in *Sanh. 92a, Levit. rab.*, 4, § 5: and, curiously enough, also in a later Midrash; see Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, I, 23, and Buber, *ספרי דאגדתא*, 82.

⁷⁹ Possibly it is this conception of the soul as a bird that underlies Ezekiel 13, 18-21; see Dudley (as above, note 4), p. 29, n. 25, and especially Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur*, 58, n. 1, who considers this conception as the basis for the custom to open a window at the moment of a person's death, so that the soul may fly out. Prof. Ginzberg refers me to the Midrash on Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 102: **נשמה דומה כמין חגב כעל כנפים ושלשלת**. קשורה ברגל ותלויה בחוט השדרה וכשארם ישן יוצאה נשמתו ומשונמט בעולם רואה (comp. also Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, V, 45, and p. XXI, top). Here the soul appears as a kind of flying locust, or a grasshopper, a figure which may be of Greek origin; see e. g. Plato's *Phaedrus*, 248 E; Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle, 10, Dieterici's German translation, 198. The Greek ψυχή means also butterfly, which, because of its rising from the larva, may have been taken as a symbol of life and immortality. The Kabbalist Eleazar of Worms (thirteenth century) in his work **הכמת הנפש**, which was published anonymously (Lemberg 1876), refers to this Midrash by **מצאתי כתוב**; see *ib.*, 1d (**הנפש יש לה ה' שמות ויש לה כנפים**) and 6b. The work, to which Prof. Schechter called my attention, is a fantastic glorification of the soul, interspersed with kabbalistic mysteries which yield but little for our purpose; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVII, 53; Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, V, 198.

souls as "holy birds that fly about chirping and praying for the holy people of Israel." Thus the *Zohar* in a lengthy exposition on the subject (section בלק, p. 392) interprets the verse גם צפור מצאה בית (Ps. 84, 4) as referring to the souls of the righteous that find shelter in the most hidden palace of the divine presence which is called קן צפור.⁸¹ On certain days of the year, particularly in the months of Nisan and Tishri, these souls leave their holy retreat every morning and, fluttering above the various divisions of paradise, praise the Lord and pray for the life of *all mankind*.⁸² Jedaiah ha-Penini, c. 15 says: והיא אתך כמו ציפור הנלכדת קיסרה בירי פתי היונק ודע כי הנשמה... כעוף: c. 12 beginning: 'ס, הישר, and Zerachiah ha-Yewani, c. 12 beginning: הנחפש במצודה וכאשר ימלט ישוב אל קנו.⁸³ The metaphor was common, however, also among the Arabs. The historian

היכלא ממירא חדא גגיו דעין לא ראתה אלהים זולתך וההוא היכלא אוקרי קן צפור.

גם צפור מצאה בית אלון רוחיהון דצדקיא ... ויומין רשימין אית בשתא ואינן יומי נסן ויומי תשרי דאינן רוחין משטנן ... ואתחון על גבי שורין דגנתא כל חד וחד כחיו דצפרין מצפצפן בכל צפרא וצפרא וההוא צפצופא שבחא רקב"ה וצלותא על חיי בני נשא דהאי עלמא. This passage of the *Zohar* is the basis for an Aramaic prayer in the Polish ritual, provided for the first twelve days of Nisan (ימי הנשיאים), which I used to recite as a boy and which reads as follows: יהי רצון ... שתאיר היום בחסדך הגדול על נשמתין קדישין דמתרחשין כצפרין ומצפצפין ומשבחין ומצלאין על עמא קדישא ישראל. רבש"ע תכנס ותעויל הנך צפרי קדישי לאתרא קדישא דאיתמר עליה עין לא ראתה אלהים וזולתך ונל. Zunz remarks somewhere that the Jews sometimes sing logic, lament in mathematics, and pray metaphysics. The above prayer may serve as an illustration of the latter part.

⁸³ An epigram in בן המלך והנזיר, c. 5, end, reads: פה בקרבי כדור תוך, פה נשבר ותמלץ ומצאה לה דורר to Ps. 124, 7.

Al-Mas'udi⁸⁴ relates of the pre-Islamitic Arabs that they believed the soul was a bird living in the human body, and that when a person dies the soul continues to flutter about the grave and to bewail the death of its former companion.

Highly poetical is the portraiture of man as a lamp enkindled by the Torah which is a spark of God, the body representing here the wick, while the soul is compared to the oil.⁸⁵ So Jedaiah, *l. c.*, c. 15, beginning: התורה היא להב מתפרד משיביו היושב בשמים והאדם בישי חלקיו אבוקה שואבת אורו גיוז פתילה נפתלת נשמתו שמן זית זך בהסכמתם והצמדם יתמלא הבית כלו אורה. The same metaphor is used by Zerachiah ha-Yewāni, *ib.*, c. 5, as the sixth of his proofs for reward and punishment in the hereafter.⁸⁶ Of a somewhat similar nature is the exposition of the author of the commentary on Canticles, who drew upon Mohammedan sources: תעלם אן אלנטפא אלתי יתכן פיהא אלוך יטבה אלפתילה פינפך פיהא אלוך יטבה מא ינפך פי אלפתילה אלנאר פינפך אלסראנ כולך אלנפס ענר מא תתעלק באלנטפא וקת אלכן. "Know that the sperm in which the embryo assumes existence is to be compared to a wick and that the spirit is blown into the former just as the fire is communicated to the latter, so that the lamp burns; this

⁸⁴ *Les Prairies d'or*, III, 310; comp. Derenburg in Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, VI, 293. The idea that the soul mourns over the dead body is common also in rabbinical literature; comp. *ib.* Shabbat 152a, bottom, especially p. Yebamot, c. 16, § 3; see also ס' החבור of Berechiah ha-Nakdan, edited by Gollancz, London 1902, p. 50.

⁸⁵ Comp. Shem Tob Ibn Shem Tob, the commentator of Maimonides' *Guide*, ס' השמן רמז לנפש ... ולכן ראוי שהאיש תצוה, end; שהוא הפתילה והשמן יהיה נערר מכל פתיות.

⁸⁶ For other similes of this author see *ib.*, end of c. 1.

is what takes place when the soul joins the sperm at the time of coming into existence.⁸⁷

Bahya's representation of the evil spirit as a spider that spreads its network around the window gradually obstructing the light of the sun,⁸⁸ and, likewise, his comparison of the soul with an unpolished metallic plate which becomes bright by friction,⁸⁹ seem to be of Arabic origin, though I do not know the source at present.

Of doubtless Jewish origin is the symbolical description of the human body and its organs as paralleling the Tabernacle and its various vessels. Already in the New Testament the body is called tabernacle (II Cor. 5, 1. 4; Pet. 1, 13-14); Jewish mediæval authors took up the idea showing the correspondence in detail. The sources are rather numerous and require special treatment.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Steinschneider *Festschrift*, 51, bottom; comp. *Kuzari*, II, 26: והנפש לא תתחבר כי אם ברוח חם שבני ... שיקשר בו כהקשר הלהב בראש הפתילה; so also Dūnāsh Ibn Tamīm in his commentary on the book יצירה, London 1902, p. 71, bottom.

⁸⁸ *Duties*, VIII, 3, 14th Meditation; comp. b. Sukkah 52a.

⁸⁹ *Ib.*, VIII, 4.

⁹⁰ See *Kuzari*, II, 26 (comp. above p. 462) and the reference given by Cassel (2) *ad locum*, p. 129; Abraham Ibn Ezra, on Exod., 26, 1, and especially Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 997, n. 1. Some of the references in that note are misprinted. Numerous parallels between the vessels of the Tabernacle and organs of the human body will be found in the מדרש תרשא, ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, III, 175 f.

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